2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
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and dots hanging down from the nape of the neck. A similar but shorter headdress may be worn in daily life.

Hair is groomed with a composite comb. It is cut with a shell, either all around the head at the level of the ear lobe, or only across the forehead, the back and sides being allowed to fall loose. Body painting consists mainly of urucú smeared uniformly, but some groups roughly trace black dots and stripes with genipa juice on the chest and legs. Face and body hair is generally pulled out, especially by women; men often have a sparse moustache and beard.

TRANSPORTATION

Canoes are unknown. Small waterways are crossed on a fallen tree; large ones by swimming, sometimes with the help of large floating bundles of buriti palm stems. Babies straddle their mother's hip supported by a large sling of bark or woven cotton.

MANUFACTURES

Spinning.—Women spin cotton with a crude drop spindle made of grass stalk. The whorl is a wild fruit, a potsherd, or a conical piece of sun-dried clay. Cotton thread is rolled in a ball and, like everything else in a *Nambicuara* household, wrapped in leaves. Women and men twist tucum and buriti fibers on their thighs to make string.

Weaving.—Weaving is limited to cotton bands and belts which men make on small, rough looms of the *"Arawak"* type (pl. 37, *center, right*).

Basketry.—Men make long, open-mouthed, cylindrical baskets using bamboo strips and a hexagonal, open weave. Fire fans are plaited of palm leaves. The *Northern Nambicuara* used palm leaves to weave low square baskets for storing the manioc and maize flour.

Pottery.—Pottery is unknown among the *Eastern Nambicuara*. In other groups, women make coarse pots of varying sizes. They mix the clay with ashes, fire the pot in the open, and wash it while it is still hot in an infusion of resinous bark.

Implements.—Stone ax heads were formerly fixed with wax and strings in the loop of a bent handle. Knives and drills are made of a crude flint chip or piece of iron fastened with wax and thread at the end of a piece of wood or between two pieces of wood, which form the handle. Women hollow small cylindrical mortars in tree trunks by means of fire. Fire is made with a fire drill, crude rubber serving as tinder. The Indians burn almecega (*Tetragastris balsamifera*) resin for light. Knives are thin, sharp-edged pieces of wood.

Weapons.—The *Nambicuara* bow is about 5 to 7 feet (2 m.) long, the section being flat, semicircular, or concave according to the group. The grip is wrapped with cotton. The arrow is released between the thumb and the first finger, the three other fingers being placed on the

3: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
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of skill and initiative are the prerequisites of a good leader. It is he who makes the arrow-poison, although the preparation of *curare* among the Nambikuara is a purely profane activity surrounded by no ceremonial taboos or magic prescriptions. It is he, also, who makes the rubber ball used in the head-ball games which are played occasionally. The chief must be a good singer and dancer, a merrymaker always ready to cheer up the band and to brighten the dullness of daily life. This could easily lead to shamanism; and, in some cases, I have met with chiefs who were at the same time healers and trance addicts. Mystical life, however, is kept in the background among the Nambikuara, and, wherever they exist, magical functions are only secondary attributes of the leader. More often chieftainship and sorcery are divided between two different individuals. In this respect, there is a strong difference between the Nambikuara and their northwestern neighbors the Tupi-Kawahib among whom the chief is, first of all, a shaman, usually a psychotic addicted to dreams, visions, trances and impersonations.

But although they are oriented in a more positive direction, the Nambikuara chief's skill and ingenuity are none the less amazing. He must have a perfect knowledge of the territories haunted by his and other groups, be familiar with the hunting grounds, the location of fruit-bearing trees and the time of their ripening, have some idea of the itineraries followed by other bands, whether hostile or friendly. Therefore, he must travel more, and more quickly, than his people, have a good memory, and sometimes gamble his prestige on hazardous contacts with foreign and dangerous people. He is constantly engaged in some task of reconnoitering and exploring, and seems to flutter around his band rather than lead it.

Except for one or two men without actual power, but eager to cooperate and to receive occasional rewards, the passivity of the band makes a strong contrast with its dynamic leader. It seems as if the band, having relinquished certain advantages to the chief, were in exchange relying entirely upon him for its interests and safety. I received a particularly striking demonstration of this under rather strange circumstances. After several weeks' discussion, I had obtained from a chief the favor of taking me, together with a few companions and some animals loaded with presents, to the semi-permanent dwellings of his band which were uninhabited at that time. This was a chance for me to penetrate more deeply into the unexplored Nambikuara territory

The Wakl'tisu do not
323 make pottery, but they sometimes acquire pots from the Paresí in exchange for game or fish.

HUNTING, FISHING, AND COLLECTING

621 Today, at least, the Wakl'tisu band is a producing and consuming unit. Whatever a man or his family gathers is shared among the band. This, however, does not mean that the whole band goes out every day or that they keep together while out hunting, fishing, and collecting. Except
594 when the men go hunting such large game as the jaguar, tapir, and peccary, the acquisitive unit is the family. Every morning while Julio's band was camped in Utiarity a family or two could be seen going out, the husband walking in front armed with bow and arrows, the wife following
[482 and carrying a burden basket on her back and a
854] baby strapped on her hip, an older child following her. As they move slowly along they collect
222 fruits, nuts, insects, snakes, ants, lizards, rats, wild honey, and a great variety of grubs or larvae.
226 When they come to a pond they wade around with small baskets in their hands and scoop out small fish. On one of these trips I observed them
[252 catching fish that were only 2 inches in length.
262] These were later thrown on hot coals and eaten
223 without being cleaned. Small birds no larger
222 than a sparrow are shot if the man can get near enough to use his bow and arrow. If they come
● [314] to a buriti stalk of the right size they will cut it down, put it into the burden basket, and take it
313 to camp. On their way home they will usually pick up dry firewood. Thus, when a family returns at nightfall the basket will be full of a wide assortment of foods and useful materials.

224 Monkeys, deer, and large birds are generally stalked by a single hunter, particularly if he has
[177] a gun. Julio and Marciano each owned a shotgun and quite often hunted alone. If a man goes out in the morning and runs onto a group of peccaries he will hurry back to camp, and all the men will then go to where the peccaries are feeding. When they hear the peccaries the hunters will form into three files, one heading directly toward the pigs, the other two flanking the game on each side. When near enough the middle file stops and spreads out, the other two files then slowly surround the pigs. As the flanking movement is going on the pigs sometimes move, but the middle group of hunters maintains contact

baked manioc and other food which they have been preparing. When the messenger leaves with the food it is a sign that the men will return to camp after sunset.

Before the men arrive the women wash the girl and paint her with a mixture which includes latex from the rubber tree. A series of dots are painted on her face, breasts, abdomen, and thighs (pl. 6, *c* and *d*). When the men come in they dance in front of the girl's hut. She then comes out and is given a name and everyone tries to give her a necklace or some other object. During the night men and women join in the dance, holding hands and dancing in a circle, the dance steps being stamped out with the right foot in the direction in which the circle is moving. A special puberty song is also sung.

The Nambicuara tell of a strange medicine known only to the shamans which is given to girls during the puberty ceremony. It is a blue liquid which, when taken internally, stops menstrual bleeding for the remainder of the girl's life. The Wakĺtisu claim that they do not use it but that the other Eastern Nambicuara band do. The missionaries informed me that the Kitánrhu use this medicine, and the missionaries seemed to think that it was effective.

MARRIAGE

There is no special marriage ceremony, for when young people go through the puberty rites they are ready for marriage and a mate is selected for them by their parents. The young man, who is to become the husband of a girl just out of seclusion, goes to her parents and helps his future father-in-law build a small hut, and when it is finished the young man tells the girl to come out hunting with him. She takes a burden basket and they go off into the woods. In the afternoon the man builds a fire and tells the girl to prepare some food and honey. After the food has been eaten he tells the girl to come and lie beside him near the fire. She is supposed to resist and he takes a stick and threatens her. He then has sexual intercourse with her, and when they come back to camp that night they are accepted as a married couple. When wives are acquired by inheriting the widow of a brother or by abduction from other bands, no ceremony is held.

[P. 104 (a)]